PAULING AND KHRUSHCHEV LETTERS ON BOMB TESTS — PP. 2 AND 3

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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THERE IS NO SHELTER
THERE IS NO SHELTER IN NUCLEAR WAR!

GUARDIAN photo by Robert Joyce

WISDOM—FROM THE MOUTHS AND SIGNS OF BABES
At the Soviet UN mission in New York and across the country, women and children "struck" for peace. See story p. 6.

BONN'S BID FOR LEADERSHIP

Common Market's tariff power could choke U.S. economy

By Ed Sears
(The second of two articles)

THE IMPENDING MARRIAGE of Britain and the European Economic Community (the Common Market) would have a profound effect, economically and politically, on the lives of millions of Americans, both north and south of the Rio Grande.

British entry into the EEC would force all other Western European nations, with the possible exception of Finland, to join the Common Market. Denmark, Ireland and Norway have applied for membership, and the three European neutrals, Switzerland, Sweden and Austria, are seeking "associate" membership—that is, trade but not political ties. These developments may place 300 million people behind a common tariff wall. The livelihoods of millions of other people who export to this huge market would be at the mercy of this tariff wall.

SOME DISCORD: The negotiations between Britain and the six Common Market nations may run into serious difficulties. There are substantial differences in approach, and the French may not want the British to participate in the group under any circumstances.

The Common Market countries themselves are divided on agricultural policies. The French have charged that the West Germans are not buying enough French foodstuffs. The West German government, sensitive to pressure from its farm bloc, had not been too anxious to import French farm goods before elections. Now that the German voting is over, the French are insisting that the Germans step up their buying.

The French have also demanded that the whole question of European agricultural policy be settled by the end of this year. Otherwise, they say, they will veto further reductions on industrial tariffs (the EEC charter requires unanimous

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RESIGNATION STATEMENT OFFERS A 'CREDO' FOR THE RIGHT

Is Gen. Walker 'the man on the horse'?

By Lawrence Emery

ULTRA-RIGHT groups, now proliferating throughout the country, acquired a martyr and possibly the leader they've been looking for when Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker announced his resignation from the Army on Nov. 2 and dedicated himself "as a civiian to attempt to do what I have found it no longer possible to do in uniform."

Two days later the Army issued a statement: "The Dept. of the Army announced today that the resignation of Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker has been accepted Nov. 4."

The general, who is 52, was removed from command of the 24th Infantry Division in Germany last April on charges of indoctrinating his troops with right-wing partisan political material and attempting to influence their voting. His removal stirred up a storm in Congress and led to a Defense Dept. ban on partisan political speeches and activities by defense personnel. An investigation of the Walker case and related issues by a Senate Preparedness subcommittee is scheduled to begin Nov. 27. Walker announced his resignation in a 10-page single-spaced statement to the subcommittee.

Every right-wing group in the country, including ultra-conservative Protestant and Catholic organizations, rallied to the defense of Walker when he first came under fire. Even Gerald L. K. Smith, who has been in relative obscurity lately, used the Walker case in appeals for funds and support for his anti-Semitic activities.

SENATE BID HINTED: Walker's statement of resignation is, in effect, a testament of his fervent anti-communism and could serve as a platform upon which most ultra-rights could unite. It contains indications that its author might enter politics; even before he released it there were rumors in Washington that he would go home to Texas to contend in the next election for the Senate seat now held by Democrat Ralph Yarborough.

Walker, with more than 30 years in the Army, could have retired with a pension and other benefits amounting to about $1,000 a month. But he chose martyrdom: "My career has been destroyed in its usefulness to my country. I cannot accept retirement with its emoluments and benefits. To do so would be a compromise with my principle. I take leave of military duty with a heavy heart. I must find other means of serving my country in time of her great need, in order to pursue the dedication of a lifetime."

He said that to carry out his mission, "I must be free from the power of little men who, in the name of my country, punish loyal service to it."

Gen. Walker revealed that an earlier offer of resignation in 1959 was rejected by then Army Secretary Wilber M. Brucker. Walker had just been assigned to the command of the 24th Infantry Division, but wrote: "It is fair to say that in my opinion the fifth-column conspiracy and influence in the United States minimize the effectiveness of my ideals and principles, military mission and objectives, and the necessary American public spirit to support sons and soldiers. I have no further desire for military service at this time with this conspiracy and its influences on the home front."

DAILY TASK: The resignation rejected, Walker set about to train his soldiers in his own image: "My ultimate and daily task has been to achieve effective realism—efficiency in young men in the use

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THE PROGRAM, THE GOAL, THE OBSTACLES

Soviet CP's 22d Congress: An interpretation

By David Wesley

THE COMMUNIST SOCIETY as envisioned by Marxism is one in which the state as an instrument of coercion has been eliminated and the material needs of every citizen are fully satisfied. Such a society cannot come into existence until the two conditions essential to it have been established—economic abundance, and the removal of every external threat to its survival. In a world of rival societies the latter condition means achievement of peaceful coexistence guaranteed by universal disarmament and a structure of world law.

On Oct. 17 the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party met to chart for the first time the course to communism. The target date was set at 1980, at which time, it was proclaimed, Soviet industry would produce almost twice as much industrial goods as is now produced in the whole non-socialist world. The Congress did not indulge in the utopian dream that in 20 years the communist society would be fully established. There would be free housing, health care, communal services and virtually free child care and education by that date, but there would not be, for example, free food and clothing.

"We proceed from strictly scientific calculations," Chairman Khrushchev said, "and calculations show that we shall, in the main, build a communist society in two decades."

PEACE NEEDED: The Soviet leader emphasized that this program "can be fulfilled successfully only in the conditions of peace." But, sweeping aside a long-held Marxist view that communism anywhere in its final form would depend on securing communism everywhere, Khrushchev pictured the possibility of

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THE MAIL BAG

Dr. Pauling replies

PASADENA, CALIF.

I write in answer to the letter by "Name Withheld," of Mill Valley, Calif. (NATIONAL GUARDIAN, Oct. 30), in which he contends that I am wrong in stating that the resumption of testing of nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union increases the danger of nuclear war. He says that the "Soviet Union's courageous resumption of testing" is intended to have and in fact has had precisely the opposite affect.

It is not a courageous act of "Name Withheld" to remain anonymous.

I contend and I always have contended and shall continue to contend that militaristic acts by the Soviet Union, the United States, and other nations increase the danger of the nuclear holocaust. The action of the U.S. government in permitting and promoting the rearmament of West Germany is an action of this sort. The transfer of nuclear weapons to NATO, as proposed by our government in 1960, would be an action of this sort. The recent increases in our armed forces and in the West German armed forces are actions of this sort. The construction of a great system of fallout shelters would be an action of this sort, the effect of which could be neutralized by an increase in the scale of the nuclear attack by the Soviet Union. Also, the sudden resumption of nuclear testing by the Soviet Union was an action of this sort, in that it brought to an end the negotiations in Geneva for a bomb-test agreement and, as I stated in my **Frontier** article, to which "Name Withheld" made reference, it may make it possible for a Soviet rocket to carry a 100-megaton bomb to the U.S., in place of perhaps a 10-megaton bomb of more primitive design.

Moreover, this action of the Soviet government is extremely immoral; the testing of a single bomb in the 50-megaton to 100-megaton range, as an atmospheric test rather than a ground test, has released radioactive materials in the atmosphere that will cause many hundreds of thousands of children to be born with gross physical and mental defect, who would have been normal if the bomb test had not been carried out. I recognize, of course, that these militaristic acts of the U.S. and the Soviet Union are related to one another, but I cannot accept the contention that militaristic acts by the Soviet Union decrease the danger of war, whereas those by the U.S. increase the danger of war.

I believe that we have now passed the period of greatest danger, the period when it was possible for a surprise attack by either the U.S. or the Soviet Union to damage the nuclear retaliatory powers of the other nation to such an extent as to permit that nation to survive a nuclear war, with the victim of the surprise attack having been completely destroyed. Even after a surprise attack, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union now have nuclear powers of destruction sufficient to destroy the attacking nation and to kill practically all of its people. A great nuclear war now would mean the end of the Soviet Union, the end of the U.S., the death of all the Soviet people, the death of all the American people. There is little doubt that increased militaristic activities, such as the construction of fallout shelters, by one nation will be neutralized by corresponding militaristic activities of the other nation, and that the present situation, in which a nuclear war would mean the end of both of these great nations and the death of all of their people, will continue in the future until we achieve the goal of disarmament.

These militaristic activities on both sides continue to constitute the gravest danger for the world. They must be condemned by all people, and all people must encourage Premier Khrushchev on many occasions, in their efforts, publicly stated by President Kennedy in his U.N. address and by Premier Khruschchev on many occasions, including his letter sent last week to me as well as to President Nkrumah of Ghana, Prime Minister Ikeda of Japan, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, and Philip Noel-Baker of England and some other M.P.s, to achieve the goal of general and complete disarmament with international controls.

If we, the people of the world, use our efforts in supporting the actions of the governments in retaining the balance of destructive powers by increased military activities by either the Soviet Union or the U.S., instead of opposing these military activities and advocating peace and disarmament, then the world would be lost.

Linus Pauling

See Premier Khrushchev's letter to Dr. Pauling, p. 3.—Ed.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

It's what is good about our civilization that the Russian Communists hate and what is good about their civilization that frightens us to a considerable degree. They are dangerous to us because they have got a genuine moral strength and are decent and rather admirable people.

—Prof. Hugh Seton-Watson in **U.S. News and World Report, Oct. 30**

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: A.C., New York City.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

"MAY GOD HAVE MERCY on the United States of America and on this honorable court!" With these words from the court crier the much-postponed trial of Negro scholar-statesman Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and four white associates in the Peace Information Center finally got under way in Washington last Thursday. The five are charged with the crime of spreading propaganda for peace without registering under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. It took a day to select from 150 talesmen, who completely filled the court, a jury consisting of six whites, eight Negroes. Then the court recessed until Nov. 13. Among witnesses the government said it will call are attorney O. John Rogge and six FBI agents. Main basis of the indictment is that the now-dissolved peace group circulated a petition (the Stockholm petition urging that atom weapons be outlawed) identical in language with one circulated throughout the world by the International Defenders of Peace.

—From the National Guardian, Nov. 11, 1951

Funds for Sobell

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The need for funds was mentioned in the appeal for Morton Sobell in the Oct. 9 GUARDIAN, but by an apparent oversight, the address of the Sobell Committee was not included. If you want to help get the new campaign moving to win Sobell's freedom, please send your contribution to Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.

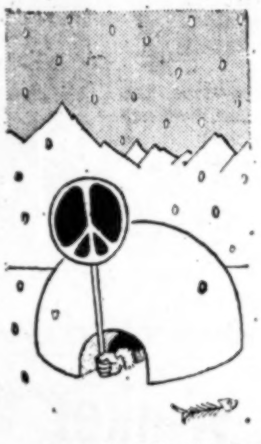
House parties are an excellent way to invite others to participate. The Sobell Committee will see that a speaker is on hand. Address inquiries to me at the above address.

Margaret Blau

Patriotism problem

NEW YORK, N.Y.

How many of us, becoming eligible for the draft, who would probably have enlisted, say, in 1941 when "patriotism" had a validity, can look upon a recruiting office today with anything but disdain? America, when we were yet too young to know about HUAC, KKK, United Fruit, Allen Dulles, et al, had, we were taught to believe, truth and courage and promise and we had pride.



Jon in the Daily Mail, London

Now with age and awareness, we cannot avert our consciousness (though our childhood "convictions" would have us do that) from the self-destructive, self-defeating, fear, hostility, insanity of our leaders which anticipate, and serve only to accelerate, our fall. We believe that it is much too late for us ever to return to the America anticipated by our revolution, and so we are without the charge to fight for it.

But we are not yet pro-socialist, as such. If we are not all destroyed in the process, we see an ultimate socialist-communist victory as, at best, a compromise. Those among us who would nourish trick knees and latent perversities, who would leave the country in a figurative, as well as literal, sense so as to evade a hollow fight may, after all, be indulging a cowardliness. But the sort of "courage" demanded of us now would, we think, take a psychic toll much more damaging than that of any "guilt feelings" with which we may be afflicted.

Jeffrey Roberts

Happy birthday

WINNETKA, ILL.

Happy 79th to our friend and yours!

Here we are again; and I can't imagine being so jolly about spending money; It's just that we're so grateful to know and be able to say "Happy Birthday" to such a wonderful gal by contributing to such a wonderful newspaper. (Annual contribution enclosed—Ed.)

If all people were like her—or even half as great—and just half the newspapers were like yours—our problems would be over.

Friends of your friend

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the progressive newsweekly

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REPORT TO READERS

Awesome responsibility

LETTERS FROM TWO of the world's most important men appear in this week's GUARDIAN—one from Dr. Linus Pauling on this page, the other on p. 3 from Nikita Khrushchev replying to a personal appeal from Dr. Pauling against resumption of nuclear weapons testing.

These letters encompass the full range of considerations besetting all conscientious people in the world today, resulting from 16 years of cold war.

None can dispute Dr. Pauling's dread calculation of the effect of the new Soviet tests on the mental and physical health of future generations. (Indeed, even the advocates of past and future U.S. tests have never disputed his calculations, but have chosen instead to reduce them to fractions of world population to make them seem less consequential, while Dr. Pauling has insisted on stating them in human terms, the appalling number of future human lives ruined by each increase in nuclear debris).

None can successfully dispute, either, the facts underlying Premier Khrushchev's communication to Dr. Pauling, that the nuclear arming of the West since World War II has had in view as its sole target the Soviet world, whose borders have been ringed around with bases for more than a decade and whose territory and airspace has been continuously violated by probes and espionage missions such as the U-2 flight.

AT THE SPEARHEAD of the West's buildup against the Soviet Union is Germany, as General Hester made clear in last week's GUARDIAN. To expect the Soviet Union, and the other nations of eastern Europe, to ignore the re-establishment of Germany as the major military power of Europe is to expect the impossible.

Not only Premier Khrushchev sees it this way. In the October **Liberation** the veteran pacifist A. J. Muste, an unyielding opponent of nuclear arming and testing and our country's leading advocate of unilateral disarmament, discusses the provocations to the U.S.S.R. implicit in the rearming of Germany in very practical terms in reporting on his impressions gained as a participant in the San Francisco-Moscow Peace Walk. The GUARDIAN will reprint excerpts from Muste's article next week. (Reprints of the full text may be obtained for 10c from Liberation, 110 Christopher St., N.Y. 14; or the War Resisters League, 5 Beekman St., N.Y. 38.)

The extent to which Germany is being built up by the West into a full nuclear nation and the mightiest military force in Europe is set forth in full and alarming detail in a new pamphlet, **The Strategy of Revenge** (New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, N.Y. 3. 25c) by Ernst Henri, author of two prophetic books, **Hitler Over Europe?** and **Hitler Over Russia?**, in the 1930s. In his chapter "The Fiction of West European 'Defense' Strategy," Henri thoroughly refutes the argument that the German buildup is for the defense of Europe, and shows conclusively that the Nazi generals restored to power under NATO (and increasingly in command in NATO) are fully prepared to sacrifice their own land and the whole of Europe (including England) in a war to avenge the defeats of German militarism in World Wars I and II. The GUARDIAN will reprint portions of the Henri thesis at an early date.

THE GREAT TRAGEDY of our time is that science at both political poles of the world is geared to competition in terror—over the reason and protest of pre-eminent scientists in the West such as Dr. Pauling and, it can be assumed, scientists of similar stature in the socialist camp. That the reason of these men and women, beginning with Einstein, the Russian Peter Kapitza and others, has not prevailed is our world's most urgent political problem, the complexities of which have thus far frustrated any approach to an effective solution.

Muste's conclusion is that it is "a time to weep" or to turn at last to pacifism, nonviolence and unilateral disarmament. He argues: "The demand that training for nuclear war be simply scrapped as irrational and indecent is not utopian." In his view "the realists today are the members of the San Francisco-to-Moscow March, the sit-downers in Trafalgar Square, Earle Reynolds and his family sailing from Hiroshima to Vladivostock, all who starkly pose this question and relentlessly and nonviolently press this demand."

Whatever the means, the way must be found to compel the world to peace. Never in history has the individual had so awesome a responsibility; to shirk it is to help the world move toward destruction.

—THE GUARDIAN

SOVIET PREMIER STRESSES THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR

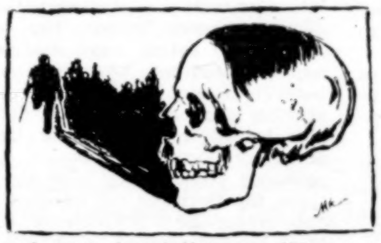
Khrushchev replies to Pauling on bomb tests

On Oct. 27, Dr. Linus Pauling, distinguished scientist and Nobel Laureate, received in translation a letter from Soviet Premier Khrushchev in reply to a letter sent by Dr. Pauling to the Premier. Dr. Pauling transmitted the letter to the GUARDIAN along with a letter to the editor (see p. 2) in the hope that we would publish it. The Khrushchev letter, it was announced in Moscow, was sent also to the persons listed in the Pauling letter on p. 2, who have all protested the resumption of nuclear testing by the Soviet Union. The full text of the Khrushchev letter appears below.

DEAR MR. LINUS PAULING: I received your letter in which you voiced your concern that the Soviet Union was compelled to conduct experimental explosions of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

We have already set forth the reasons which forced us to take such a decision. I wish only to emphasize once again that we have taken this step after a long consideration and not without a pain in heart, not without a sense of bitterness understandable to everyone who holds dear the ideals of securing peace among the peoples. Try to imagine yourself placed in a position in which our country has found itself— faced with sharp increase of war preparations which are being carried out by the NATO powers in sight of everyone—and that, perhaps, will help you better understand that the Soviet Government had no other alternative.

The Soviet people who in the life of one generation were twice subjected to bandit attacks by the hordes of German militarists know war not by hearsay—they saw it in their homes. In all fairness, no other people, no other nation suffered in World War II such heavy losses, such vast devastations as did our people and our nation. And is it necessary to explain that the sacrifices and loss of homefolks and relatives are irretrievable, and almost every Soviet family suffered such losses.



REALIZING BETTER than many others what war is like and in particular a modern war with the use of rocket and nuclear weapons, we have made and are making every effort to eliminate war from the life of human society, to achieve an agreement on general and complete disarmament. For that we have spared no effort. But unfortunately our efforts have not so far been successful.

We have proposed the most peaceful of all the peaceful things that can only be thought of in the present situation—to put an end to the vestiges of World War II, to conclude a German peace treaty. And what was the response of the Western powers? Have they accepted our proposal to meet and sit down at a round table to jointly work out a German peace treaty? Have they stated that they share our desire to work out a peace treaty on such a basis which would contribute to the elimination of the main source of friction between the powers, to the prevention of military conflicts, to the prevention of World War III? Not at all. As you know, our proposals have not been accepted by the Western powers.

In response to our proposal that a peace treaty be concluded at last, after 16 years that passed since the end of the war, with Germany, with the two now existing German states, we hear almost daily this or that statesman of the United States, France, Britain, West Germany and their other allies in aggressive military blocs remind us that if a German peace treaty is signed and on this basis the situation in West Berlin, which will get a status of a demilitarized free city, is normalized, then the NATO powers will respond to this with force. And they are not merely threatening war, they are saying it will be a thermonuclear one.

TRY TO UNDERSTAND, dear Mr. Pauling, what the Soviet Union would be like if it continued to refrain, as if nothing at all has happened, from taking additional measures to strengthen its defense capacity, including measures to perfect nuclear weapons, while the NATO powers are responding with threats to its proposal that a German peace treaty be concluded. If we had not taken those measures, we would have committed an act which could not be justified either by history or—even less so—by our people and by the peoples of those countries which fell victims of invasion by the Hitlerite hordes. Have we acted otherwise, there would have been no excuse for us on the part of any of the peoples who struggle for peace and wish to secure it.

We cannot but take into consideration the fact that our country is encircled by American military bases and those bases are now being strengthened. The U. S. is sending its troops and military equipment to Europe. Since the beginning of this year the U. S. military expenditures have been increased by more than six billion dollars; "strategic armed forces" which are nuclear forces are being expanded at a growing rate; the number of Polaris submarines is being rapidly increased; the number of the strategic bombers at the end of runways has been increased by 50 per cent; the long-range air force has been expanded, additional contingents of reservists have been called up and measures have been taken to bring the Army, Navy and Marine units to full strength in terms of personnel and equipment. Needless to say, states usually resort to such measures, as is known, only when they are driving toward war.

The West German revenge-seekers—and Chancellor Adenauer and Defense Minister Strauss set the tone in their chorus—are more and more persistent and noisy in their demands for nuclear weapons for the Bundeswehr, which even now is the biggest army in Western European countries.

And with all that the NATO powers want us to give up strengthening our armed forces and their perfecting. If we acted that way this would turn against all honest people who really want peace and condemn war; and so this would turn against us and against those who appeal to the Soviet Union not to weaken its efforts in consolidating peace.

YOU MAY HAVE some doubts—would it really be so? But think for yourself—if the NATO powers go on building up their military power and the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries remain inactive, fail to take care of strengthening their security, then—in the conditions created by the saber-rattling policy on the part of the NATO powers—this would undoubtedly lead not to the consolidation of peace but, on the contrary, would almost mean inviting the aggressor to an adventure, to unleashing war with all its consequences.

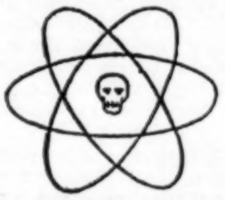
How can one remain indifferent, for example, to a statement such as one made by Senator Margaret Smith? She actually demanded to use nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union in response to the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. You probably read about the threats which were made in this connection by Attorney General Robert Kennedy, brother of the President, and by Mr. Robert S. McNamara, U.S. Secretary of Defense. They both stated the intention of the Kennedy Administration to use nuclear weapons. And look what statements were recently made by Lord Home, British Foreign Minister, and Mr. Heath, Lord Privy Seal. All of them are trying to impress upon us the idea that if the U.S.S.R. and other countries sign a German peace treaty, the NATO powers will in response unleash a nuclear war.

We have repeatedly stated that we wish to sit down at a conference table with the Western powers and to achieve as soon as possible a peaceful solution so that a line could be drawn under World War II. But if the Western powers do not wish to do so, we all the same will have to sign a peace treaty, which the interests of strengthening peace in Europe demand, and we will sign it.

Naturally, we cannot ignore the attempts on the part of the NATO powers to resort to threats, but those threats we must say are to the wrong address. If the opponents of the conclusion of a peace treaty choose to fight against it by means of war, we must have no less powerful means to stop any attempts to unleash war.

One cannot but be particularly puzzled to hear threats to ignite flames of rocket-nuclear war coming from those from whom the consequences of such a war would be many times more dangerous than, let us say, for the U. S. or the U.S.S.R. The British Lord Privy Seal is threatening us with war. But he is probably forgetting that Britain is a small island and one where an American Polaris submarine base and American bombers with nuclear weapons are located and if hostilities start that island can be among the first to experience the crushing might of nuclear blows.

THE PRESENT POLICY of the NATO powers leads to a situation where one has to fear not just radioactive fallout but the lethal and destructive power of nuclear weapons themselves. This is the actual choice humanity is facing today. We are carrying out experimental tests and perfecting our weapons in order that mankind should never experience the horrors of nuclear war. The fact that nuclear weapons are in possession of the Soviet state serves as a stern warning to all those who resort to threats in connection with the question of signing a German peace treaty. The Soviet people and the peoples of other Socialist countries, engaged in a peaceful constructive labor, do not need wars. We proclaimed this to the whole world from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of our Party, which will adopt a grand program for building Communism in our country. We need peace to fulfill this program. We would be happy to sink the most modern and formidable weapons in the ocean. But if our partners in negotiations do not wish to agree to jointly sink the weapons, then, naturally, we too, need these weapons. We know that peace and security cannot be begged for the peoples from aggressors by preaching love and tolerance. To war threats we have to answer by strengthening the defense of our country—we do not have any other alternative.



All this shows clearly that it is the policy of the Western powers—NATO members—that is the source of international tension and the arms race. To care for peace and for prevention of nuclear war, means that the efforts of the governments of all peace-loving countries as well as the efforts of the people should be aimed at making the Western powers stop saber-rattling and reach an agreement to put an end to the vestiges of World War II. This is the only reasonable way leading to peace and security. The Soviet Union as before will spare no effort to achieve this noble goal.

AS THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT already explained, the way to solution of the question of cessation of nuclear tests is to be found in a solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament. In this case the question of cessation of nuclear tests and of non-use of nuclear weapons would be solved once and for all. To put an end to nuclear weapon tests, to the arms race, it is necessary to achieve without any delay a solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Government has repeatedly declared that it is ready to sign a treaty on general and complete disarmament under the most strict international control. We are ready to do so right now.

I would like to express my hope that the peoples of our countries will join their efforts in the struggle for a speediest solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament, for complete and unconditional ban on nuclear weapons, for delivering mankind from the threat of another world war.

War crime—Bonn version

MUNICH, Germany, Nov. 4 (AP)—The police said today that they were holding a Yugoslav official suspected of complicity in the slaying of several German soldiers by Yugoslav anti-Nazi partisans in an ambush in World War II

It is the first time in West Germany that an allied World War II resistance fighter has been accused of war crimes against German soldiers.

Lazar Vracaric, 44 years old, executive of a large state-owned plant in Zagreb, was arrested Thursday in a Munich hotel on a business trip.

The Yugoslav Consulate-General announced that a sharp protest has been lodged with the West German government. Consulate spokesman said the arrest was based on a warrant issued by Nazi occupation authorities in Yugoslavia in 1941.

—New York Times, Nov. 5

Kumar Goshal

A Report on Africa

SEATTLE—Fri., Nov. 17, 8 p.m., Arcade Bldg. (Evergreen Hall, Room 3013), 1319 2nd Ave.

DETROIT—Sun., Nov. 26, Jewish Music Center, 14864 Schaefer H'way. 7:30 p.m.

Wed., Nov. 29, 7:30 p.m. Hartford Baptist Church Community Center, 6300 Hartford Ave.

CALGARY, Canada—Nov. 11. For further information call AL 5-0836.

REGINA, Canada, Nov. 22 or 23, details to be announced.

PHILADELPHIA — Sat., Dec. 2. Place to be announced. Watch for details!

WATCH THE GUARDIAN FOR OTHER DATES AND PLACES

Common Market

(Continued from Page 1)

consent for any substantive motion). Such a veto could wreck the EEC. The entry of Britain, whose agricultural policies are totally different from those of the EEC countries, would further complicate the problem.

TARIFF SETUP: At present all the Common Market countries except West Germany impose tariffs on tropical foods raised in countries which are not colonies or former colonies of the member states. The tariff on cocoa beans is 9%; on cocoa products, 22-27%; on coffee, 16%; and on bananas, 20%. While West Germany has no tariff on coffee and bananas, it has an import quota on these items, i.e., it restricts the quantity it will buy from countries having no links to the Common Market. Growers of these products in the French, Belgian and Dutch colonies can, of course, ship them to the Common Market tariff free and in unlimited quantities.

There is a possibility that this privilege will be extended to the British and Portuguese colonies if these countries affiliate with the EEC. This would give Latin America's major competitors, the African states, a decisive advantage in the world's most important market area.

THREAT TO ALLIANCE: Such a development could wreck the Alliance for Progress. Latin-American countries for a number of years have been pressing the U.S. to stabilize the prices of their exports. One of the U.S.'s closest collaborators, President Alberto Lleras Camargo of Colombia, issued a somber warning to the U.S. delegates to the Bogota conference in September, 1960.

"Latin America," Lleras complained, "has seen its annual dollar income decline from a level of $4,311 million in 1951 to $3,268 million, which is to say by more than $1 billion . . . With today's population, with existing dollar obligations, with development investments under way but not yet productive, and with growing unemployment, a fall in the prices of the basic products of this part of the world cannot be regarded as other than a prelude to chaos."

The decline in commodity prices has cost Latin America $10 billion in the last decade, one-half of the amount the U.S. has promised to give Latin America in the next decade. If allowed to continue, the losses from the fall in prices could well exceed the gains from the Alliance for Progress.

SURPLUS PROBLEM: The entry of Britain and the other European states into the Common Market would knock the bottom out of Latin American prices unless the Common Market changed its tariff policies or unless the U.S. extended its domestic agricultural price support program to Latin America, i.e., bought up Latin America's surplus cocoa, coffee and bananas and stored them in warehouses throughout the hemisphere.

The U.S. is putting pressure on European countries to drop tariff preferences for their colonies. Secretary of Treasurer Douglas Dillon told the delegates to last August's Punta del Este conference that the U.S. would extend financial aid to African countries to compensate them for the loss of their tariff privileges. Whether the old colonial powers, sensitive to the invasion of Africa by U.S. capital, will accept such a plan is a moot question.

Whatever arrangements the U.S. makes, it will have to pay a high price. Extension of aid to Africa or price stabilization for Latin American lands would aggravate the U.S. balance of payments deficit. A persistent growth in this deficit would have a serious impact on U.S. economy. Under cold-war conditions, it could bring a reduction in living standards.

BUSINESS WARNING: Britain's entry into the Common Market would increase the U.S. payments deficit not only because of the need to prevent chaos in Latin America, but for other reasons. In July, 1960, the Committee for Economic Development, a big-business research organization, sent a confidential memorandum to its members. It read: "Up to now, U.S. exports have felt little bite from the Common Market . . . But the time of **dolce far niente** is about over. During the next year the Six [Common Market nations] will be doing — faster than had been planned — what it has avoided doing up to now: It will be accelerating steps that could, unless their effects are bargained away, result in a considerable degree of trade dislocation."

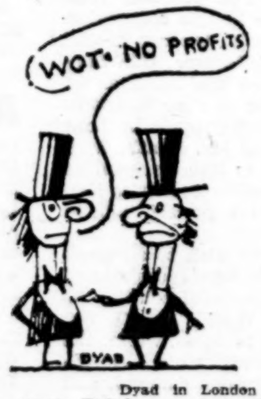
This statement was concerned about the trade dislocations from actions of the so-called Inner Six. Entry of Britain and the other European powers into EEC would greatly magnify these dislocations, and further aggravate U.S. balance-of-payments troubles.

All West European nations together bought $6.7 billions of merchandise from the U.S. in 1960, more than one-third of all U.S. exports. Agricultural products constitute $2 billion of these exports. West Europe absorbs from 35% to 40% of all U.S. farm exports.

VARIABLE LEVY: Present Common Market plans, which may be changed on Britain's entry call for imposing a variable levy on certain food products from non-member states. This levy would equal the difference between the support price member countries agree upon, and the market price of the import.

A variable levy is far more restrictive than a tariff, which is a fixed percent of an import's price. If this price is low enough, the import with a fixed tariff can still compete with domestically produced items, made under high-cost condition. A variable levy, by automatically raising the import price to the domestic price, effectively undermines foreign competition.

The U.S. is probably the world's most efficient producer of grains. Its low-priced grains can compete effectively in most markets. In 1959 the U.S. sold almost $250 million in feed grains to the six Common Market countries alone. A variable levy against grains could ruin this market. The U.S. also sells about $100 million in tobacco to Common Market nations. The EEC wants to levy a 30% tariff against U.S. tobacco, a rate high enough to price U.S. tobacco out of the market.



Dyad in London Worker

"I know—swap Belgian coal for British coal to keep the dockers employed."

Perturbed about this possible blow to the nation's farmers, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has warned the European countries that the U.S. has "grave reservations" about their proposed policies.

"American agriculture," he said, "is concerned over the restrictive import policy on the part of the Common Market which would reduce our sales to the area of wheat, rice, feed grains, livestock products, poultry, tobacco and certain fruits." He spoke of "extremely serious consequences" in the U.S. and added, "We will not be denied access to markets that hitherto had been ours."

RESISTANCE SURE: There is little likelihood Freeman will be able to force European countries to make significant changes in their programs. Holland and France, both food exporters, will resist change in policies which favor them. President de Gaulle's political difficulties with the farmers will reinforce his resistance.

In addition, the British may obtain preferential treatment for Commonwealth agricultural products. They have, in fact, been pressuring the U.S. to use its influence with the Common Market countries to this end.

Regardless of what deal is finally worked out, one thing is certain. American farmers will suffer. Freeman can hope only to limit the extent of their suffering, not to eliminate it.

Over two-fifths of U.S. exports to Europe are manufactured goods, mainly chemicals, machinery and transportation equipment. The European countries propose to put stiff tariffs against these products. The tariff on U.S. autos will be 29%. Since there will be no tariff on European cars, Americans will have difficulty selling.

As Chase Manhattan Bank, which is backing the Common Market, noted in a recent bulletin, "Many American producers will find European competition increasingly difficult to meet, and some products now successfully exported to Europe may cease to move there."

Especially hit will be such industries as machinery, electrical equipment, instruments, chemicals, motor vehicles, iron and steel, petroleum and coal.

JOB THREAT: The losses in markets will bring increased joblessness to these industries, which have had severe unemployment problems the last few years.

The losses moreover will not be confined to Europe. Protected by a common external tariff, European plants will expand operations, compelling them to seek market outlets outside Europe. Utlizing modern methods and paying relatively low wages, they will be able to grab U.S. markets in other parts of the world, including the U.S. itself. Loss of these additional markets will add to the rolls of the U.S. unemployed.

Still more serious will be the Common Market's impact on U.S. economic growth. A huge market of 300 million people protected by a tariff wall plus, as Chase Manhattan Bank's president, David Rockefeller, put it, "the further incentive of low wage scales" will induce many American companies to set up plants in Europe. Capital, instead of goods, will move from the U.S. to Europe, elevating the runaway shop to international status. Jobs which might have been created in the U.S. will now be created in Europe.

INVESTMENTS UP: Recent Commerce Dept. surveys show that direct private U.S. investments in Europe jumped by 60% between 1957 and 1960; sales by European subsidiaries of American manufacturing firms rose by 48%; while U.S. exports to Europe went up by only 12%.

The sales of European subsidiaries of American manufacturing firms totaled $9.3 billion in 1960, $2.6 billion greater than the value of all U.S. merchandise exports to Europe, including agricultural goods. These sales were equal to about half of the value of all U.S. non-military exports to all countries of the world.

Chase Manhattan Bank recently reported that between Jan. 1, 1958, birthday of the Common Market, and June 30, 1961, American firms started 717 new operations (new investments or new additions to older investments) in the EEC countries. They started an additional 272 operations in the European Fair Trade Association countries (the Outer Seven).

Entry of Britain into the Common Market will accelerate the flight of capital, thereby arresting the U.S. economy's growth, intensifying unemployment, and playing havoc with the balance-of-payments.

GERMAN CONTROL: The Common Market will raise one other major question for the American people—the question of control. At present the reins of the Common Market are firmly in the hands of the West Germans. The chairman of its commission, its chief administrative agency, is Prof. Walter R. Hallstein, former West German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Germany is financially the strongest nation in Europe, so strong, in fact, that every West European country is forced to consider German reaction to all major decisions. Germany's economic strength is growing at such a rate it will have no trouble dominating the new European Common Market if and when Britain and the other European nations enter.

The U.S. is the only capitalist country in a position to challenge Germany's dominance over Europe. The cold war, however, is eating away American's financial resources. America's persistent balance-of-payments deficits reflect her growing weakness. The same deficits are also largely responsible for Germany's persistent payments surpluses and her economic strength. If these trends continue, the Germans will have little trouble eliminating the U.S. challenge. In control of an area encompassing 300 million people, they will be able to dictate terms to the rest of the capitalist world.

BONN'S IDEAS: The German delegates to the recent International Monetary Fund (IMF) Conference in Vienna gave an indication of the terms they would like to impose on the U.S. The U.S. wanted Germany and the other European powers to agree to lend money automatically to the IMF in future financial crises. The U.S. asked for these standby credit arrangements to protect itself against the recurrence of a gold outflow such as took place at the end of last year.

The Germans along with the other European bankers refused to agree to these automatic loans. Instead Karl Blessing, president of the West German Central Bank (equivalent of the Federal Reserve Bank), called on the U.S. to exercise "monetary discipline at home."

"I am aware," he said, "that this is not music in the ears of those who believe that easy money and creeping inflation are basic conditions of high rates of growth."

Blessing was thus demanding that the U.S. give up what was left of the "New Frontier." His terms, in effect, call for the discarding of all social legislation, a freeze on wages, high interest rates, tight money, and a relatively high level of unemployment, conditions which would create a favorable environment for German investments in the U.S.

If the entry of Britain into the Common Market precipitated another balance-of-payments crisis for the U.S. Blessing would be in a position to enforce his terms.

When Senator J. William Fulbright (Dem.-Ark.) recently urged the Commonwealth countries to support Britain's entry into the Common Market, he conceded that the entry would bring "temporary difficulties" to the U.S. Americans may well wonder how great and how "temporary" these difficulties will be.

You won't see this exclusive Guardian story elsewhere—why not clip it and send it to a friend?

Trade challenge worries U.S.

WASHINGTON's deep and growing concern over the economic and political challenge offered by the Common Market was given sharp expression in two developments Nov. 1.

A top official of the Kennedy administration, George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, told the National Trade Association convention in New York that the U.S. must end its protectionist tariff policies. Asserting the yearly rate of economic expansion of Common Market nations is double that of the U.S., Ball said the U.S. "has ceased to be the dominant country" of the non-communist trading world (N.Y. **Times,** Nov. 1). Ball was worried about balance of payments, and called for an exports drive, even if it meant shifting American manpower out of industries that can't stand up to foreign competition.

The second development came in a report prepared by former Secretary of State Christian Herter and former Under Secretary of State Will Clayton for a subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Economic Committee.

Herter and Clayton proposed a U.S. trade partnership with the Common Market as essential to the winning of the Cold War.

FIRST OF A SERIES OF MEETINGS PLANNED IN THE SOUTH

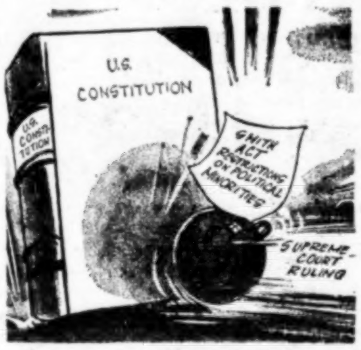
Chapel Hill conferees map civil liberties fight

By Joanne Grant

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

MORE THAN 250 STUDENTS, educators, lawyers and clergymen held day-long discussions of civil liberties and civil rights Oct. 27 in Chapel Hill, N.C., in the first of a projected series of conferences to be held throughout the South.

The meeting, sponsored by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, was attended by students from 10 colleges and by persons from Alabama, District of Columbia, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia. The purpose was to stimulate education and the dissemination of information on civil liberties in the communities of the conferees.



Crockett in the Washington Star
"Not really a blow for freedom."

Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, executive director of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference, opened the session with a call for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

"When the rights of one are threatened, the rights of none are safe," he said. ". . . HUAC must be abolished or America will be abolished. Never has a committee of Congress been so appropriately named when we consider the activities and function of the committee itself—the suppression of free speech, guilt by association, evasion of the law of the land, violation of private domain . . ."

KEY ISSUE: A recurring question in speeches and discussions was that raised by the recent U.S. Supreme Court 5-to-4 split on civil liberties: Is the First Amendment to be exercised as it is stated or is it subject to limitations?

LeMarquis DeJarmon, law professor at North Carolina College, Durham, N.C., discussing recent Supreme Court decisions said: "The issue is drawn. Should the individual be left free to advocate anything or should his right to advocate be balanced against the governmental interest concerning the thing advocated?"

The relationship of HUAC and state legislative investigating committees was discussed by Benjamin E. Smith, former asst. district attorney, New Orleans, La., and by Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, president of the Miami branch, NAACP.

Smith told how the Louisiana Committee on Un-American Activities investigated a Louisiana State University professor after he wrote critical letters to legislators who promoted school-closing legislation when New Orleans faced school integration last year.

Father Gibson, who is contesting in the Supreme Court the right of a Florida investigating committee to demand NAACP membership lists, pointed out that eight Southern states have set up investigative committees since the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision. The enabling acts for these committees are the same in all the states, Father Gibson said: "They were organized to put brakes on integration in the South."

HATE-GROUP LINK: Frank J. Donner, constitutional lawyer and author of **The Un-Americans,** traced the history of HUAC and declared: "The problems which the committee poses are not merely legal. They are political problems which, as citizens of a democracy, we must face honestly and fearlessly. They are moral and ethical problems, which as men we cannot afford to evade."

The connection of the HUAC with hate groups—fascists, the Ku Klux Klan and others—was traced by David Wesley, editor of the editorial page of the York, Pa., **Gazette and Daily**. He called HUAC "the essential ingredient of success for the merchants of hate in America," and added: "Every major assault of the committee on the American citizen, from the Hollywood show of 1947 to the raid on Atlanta that culminated in the imprisonment of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, was traceable to the committee's connection with the hate underworld."

Charles Lyons Jr., political science professor at Elizabeth City, N.C., State Teachers College, reported a dangerous trend in South Carolina, where a private anti-communist organization has merged with a state legislative committee. He quoted the Raleigh, N.C., **News and Observer** (Oct. 24) news story on the "quasi-official" merger as saying: "Composed of South Carolina Alert, Inc., and the legislative committee to investigate communist activity . . . its organization reaches every facet of South Carolina life. Its announced purpose is to defend the nation from the encroachments of communism." The two groups share office space and have an intricate financial relationship.

Other speakers were: Clifford J. Durr, Montgomery, Ala., attorney; Anne Braden, SCEF field secretary; Ella J. Baker, consultant, Atlanta, Ga., YWCA; Dr. Waldo Beach, Duke University professor; Rev. W. W. Finlator, minister, Pullen Memorial Baptist church, Raleigh; David Forbes, president, student council, Shaw University; Sandra C. Hayden, Southern Region YWCA, and Dr. Oscar K. Rice, professor, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Conference speeches and discussions will be printed in pamphlet form available from SCEF, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La.

BOARD MEETING: At its semi-annual executive board meeting Oct. 28, the SCEF elected Bishop Edgar A. Love, general chairman of the conference, as temporary president to replace Aubrey Williams, who resigned because of ill health. Williams was elected president emeritus. Resolutions of the board included one to President Kennedy asking clemency for Braden and Wilkinson, now in Greenville, S.C., Federal prison for refusing to answer HUAC questions on First Amendment grounds. The board also commended McComb, Miss., students protesting segregation and appealed to the U.S. Justice Dept. to protect student demonstrators.

RIGHTS DEFENDERS DEFY VIRGINIA WITCH-HUNT

A trio of lawyers fight back

IN THE FACE of possible disbarment following an attack by a Virginia legislative investigating committee the law firm of three young Negro attorneys—Joseph Jordan, E. A. Dawley, and L. W. Holt—has virtually become a defense organization.

Jordan, Dawley and Holt were subpenaed for September hearings by the Virginia Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice, along with leaders of several civil rights groups.

The committee was established in 1958 by the Virginia General Assembly specifically, according to the Richmond **Times Dispatch,** "to probe the source of integration law suits in Virginia." The committee could bring about disbarment proceedings if there were proof of persistent incitement of litigation, or barratry.

The **Times Dispatch** said Sept. 28: "In its time, the committee battled the NAACP. Of late, its attention has turned to organizations such as the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and Negro 'improvement associations' in Hopewell, Petersburg, Lynchburg and Danville."

RAIDERS DEFIED: Last September the lawyers refused to allow committee representatives and police to go through records in a raid on the firm's office. Twelve days after the raid the attorneys filed a suit in Federal court to enjoin the committee from continuing its investigation, contending the committee violated the First and 14th Amendments.

When the three were subpenaed to appear at hearings they announced that they would defy the committee. The committee wanted them to testify about organizations including CORE, the improvement associations, the NAACP, the Black Muslims, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Communist Party.

The lawyers obtained a temporary Federal injunction against further subpenas; then they appeared at the hearing as attorneys for others subpenaed.

Since 1957 Jordan, Dawley and Holt have been involved in more than 35 cases challenging racial segregation. The various cases involved seating laws, libraries, public parks, housing, lunch counters, and the pupil placement laws. A challenge to Virginia's anti-trespass law under which 148 sit-in demonstrators have been arrested is pending before the U.S. Supreme Court. To counter Virginia's "massive resistance" to school desegregation Jordan, Dawley and Holt filed a suit to bar Federal officials from granting aid to segregated schools. Named as defendants were President Kennedy and Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

The serious shortage of attorneys willing to take civil rights cases in the South has led the three Virginia attorneys to take rights cases in Florida and Birmingham, Ala. The drive to disbar them is a threat to the Southern rights movement. Funds are needed and can be sent to: Jordan, Dawley and Holt, RESIST, 721 E. Brambleton Av., Norfolk 10, Va.

LEFT TO RIGHT: L. W. HOLT, JOSEPH JORDAN AND E. A. DAWLEY
They're the target of a Virginia legislative inquiry.

NEW YORK NEW YORK NEW YORK

Demonstrate for Siqueiros!

THE JUDGE'S DECISION, in the case of David Alfaro Siqueiros, famed Mexican muralist, who has been imprisoned for fifteen months under Mexico's notorious "social dissolution" act (see picture, page 9), is expected by Nov. 15. The prosecution has asked for the maximum penalty, 12 to 15 years.

SIQUEIROS IS DANGEROUSLY ILL. A prison sentence may prove fatal to him. Friends of freedom throughout the world are making their voices heard at this last moment. Will you join us in protest against the inhuman and illegal imprisonment of this renowned artist?

SATURDAY, NOV. 11 11 to 12:30 P.M. U.N. PLAZA

(42nd St. and 1st Av.)

Dr. Corliss Lamont, Attny. Stanley Faulkner and artist Robert Gwathmey flew to Mexico Tues. morning, Nov. 7, to present an appeal to Mexican authorities. Funds to defray expenses and to conduct other publicity activities, are needed.

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MAKING OF A NEW MOVEMENT?

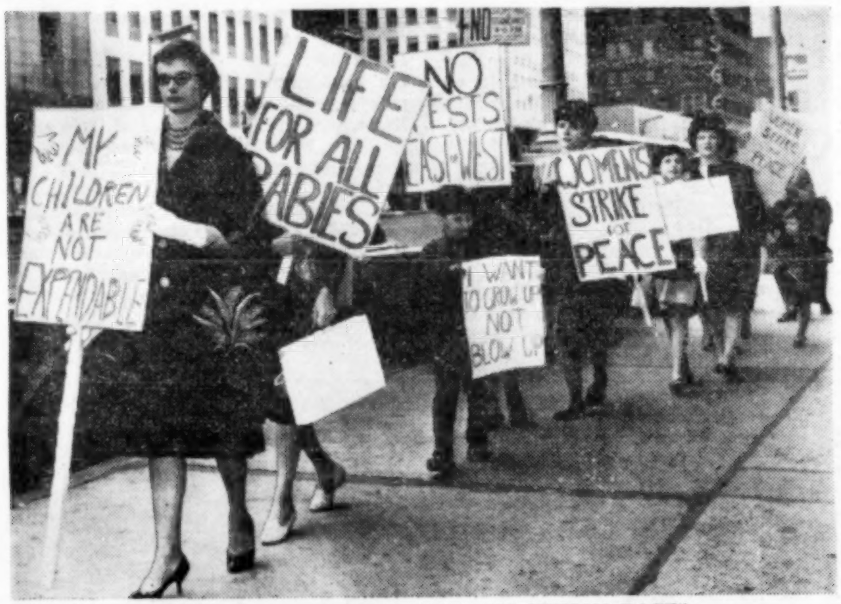
The nation's women strike for peace

By Robert E. Light

THOUSANDS OF WOMEN in more than 30 cities and scores of towns across the country staged a one-day "strike" for peace on Nov. 1. Their demands on world leaders were simple: Work overtime for peace; pay more attention to the human race than to the arms race; increase health insurance by eliminating strontium 90. The strikers were willing to arbitrate some issues at the UN. But one point all refused to compromise: Ban all nuclear bomb tests, East and West, in the atmosphere and below ground.

In New York about 800 women, many with children, picketed the Soviet UN mission headquarters and the Atomic Energy Commission offices from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. There were about 100 women on the AEC line at all times. Their theme, reflected in placards, was: "Two Wrongs Don't Make a Right—No Testing."

A delegation of five women—two carried small children—presented a letter for AEC chairman Dr. Glenn E. Seaborg to Joseph Clarke, manager of the AEC's New York office. The letter expressed horror at the radiation consequences of the Soviet tests and pleaded against the U.S. resumption of atmospheric tests.



"END THE ARMS RACE, NOT THE HUMAN RACE"
Picket line in Newark, N. J., was typical of the women's grim determination.

'THIS NONSENSE': Clarke assured the women that he appreciated their feelings and pointed out that he was a grandfather. He insisted that the Administration's policies coincided with the women's. "We are all for cutting out this nonsense," he said.

The picket line at the Soviet mission was three or four times as large. It included many pacifists, SANE supporters and others used to demonstrating for peace. But it also had many who had never picketed before but "had to do something" about the Bomb. Actress Carroll Baker carried a sign: "Children Need Milk Strontium Free."

A delegation of six women—with three children—presented a letter for Premier Khrushchev urging him to "declare a permanent end to all nuclear testing by the Soviet Union." The women were cordially received and the children were fed lunch while a mission secretary discussed the Soviet test resumption.

He showed the women clippings from U.S. papers and magazines indicating a U.S. military buildup. He pointed to charts in **U.S. News & World Report** showing that the U.S.S.R. was ringed with U.S. missile bases. He said that some U.S. military leaders had expressed doubts about Soviet arms capability. The tests, he said, are to prove our might and, therefore, to "make war impossible."

One of the delegation, Mrs. Ronnie Levin, told reporters she thought the picket line was a good first step. But she wanted further action by women to bring world leaders to their senses.

WASHINGTON RALLY: In Washington almost 1,000 women gathered near the Washington Monument at 10 a.m. to hear Methodist minister Dr. Henry Hitt Crane and actress Faye Emerson. Delegations left identical letters at the White House and at the Soviet Embassy for Mrs. Kennedy and Mrs. Khrushchev asking them to prevail on their husbands to end the arms race.

The letter said: "The fate of all humanity is now one fate. The life of all nations is now one life. Join with us—make the survival of mankind the one great cause of our time."

Delegations sought appointments at the embassies of all nations of the "nuclear family." They were received by the Russians; the British and French asked them to send letters.

Women wheeling baby carriages continued picketing at the White House all morning. Minutes after President Kennedy's limousine pulled away from St. Matthew's Roman Catholic Church, where he had atttended an All Saints' Day mass, a "peace strike" truck rolled down the street, sounding: "Support Kennedy's peace proposals . . . End the arms race, not the human race."

In San Francisco women and children gathered at First Unitarian Church at 10 a.m. They stopped first at the office of Fay Hunter, regional director of Health, Education and Welfare, where they asked that their plea for disarmament be forwarded to the President.

When Mayor Christopher arrived at his office, he found the peace strikers waiting. He played with the children while he assured the women that he would transmit their message to Kennedy immediately. He said he had spoken to thousands of Russians during a recent visit, "and I'm convinced those people also want peace."

DRILLS ASSAILED: The women went next to the board of education offices to appeal for an end to civil defense drills. They also saw the president of the Board of Supervisors and Rep. William S. Mailliard. About 200 women participated.

In Los Angeles about 2,000 women gathered at the civic center. State Atty. Gen. Stanley Mosk complimented them for their sincerity. But Mayor Sam Yorty advised them to "direct your anger toward the proper target. Don't confuse the issue here; it is Russian fallout that is at this very moment poisoning our atmosphere, not American fallout."

Gov. Edmund G. Brown told 75 women at the state Capitol in Sacramento that he hoped their message "rings around the world." Elsewhere in California: 50 women marched on the City Hall in Oakland, where Mayor John C. Houlihan left word that they ought to "take their plea to Moscow;" 100 women demonstrated in Berkeley and held a rally at which 750 attended; 30 women demonstrated in El Cerrito; 15 in Albany; 30 in Richmond; and 50 marched in Orinda.

CLEVELAND LEAFLETS: About 50 women assembled at Cleveland's public square, carrying placards and distributing leaflets. Mrs. Cyrus Eaton, a polio victim, sat in her wheelchair passing out leaflets. On her chair was the sign, "Save the Children."

More than 1,000 women demonstrated in Chicago and 600 held two meetings in suburban Winnetka.

There were similar demonstrations in Detroit, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Baltimore, Denver, Portland, Newark, New Haven, Albany, Rochester, Syracuse, Schenectady, and several other cities. There were also demonstrations in many suburban communities.

Accurate statistics on the number of cities and women involved are not possible because of the "strike's" informal organization. It started with Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, a children's book illustrator in Washington, who admires what Bertrand Russell is doing in England for peace. She is also disgusted with the way men talk about the Bomb "as if this were all a game of chess."

QUICK RESPONSE: Mrs. Wilson called together 20 women in September and they undertook to organize a strike of women and children. "We had 5,000 flyers printed and mailed them to friends and organizations all over the country," Mrs. Wilson said. "The response was immediate. The telephone hasn't stopped ringing since."

ALL CHILDREN ARE THREATENED BY FALLOUT

GUARDIAN photo by Robert Joyce
TESTS, MY FOOT!
The AEC got the message, too.

In scores of cities women organized volunteer telephone committees and called everyone on their Christmas lists, in their baby-sitter pools or in their PTAs. There was a minimum of formal organization and a maximum of enthusiasm.

The day after the strike Mrs. Wilson was besieged with calls from around the country insisting that the women set up a more formal and permanent organization. The Washington women were to meet Nov. 8 to plan the next stage of the Women's Strike for Peace.

Picket line for Sobell planned at UN Nov. 16

MORTON SOBELL'S wife, Helen, and mother, Rose, will lead a picket line opposite the United Nations Thursday, Nov. 16, from 5 to 6:30 p.m., to bring his continued imprisonment to the attention of world leaders.

On Sunday, Nov. 26, a mass picket line is planned in front of the White House in Washington. Special buses will leave from New York and other cities. Inquiries should be directed to the Committee for Justice for Morton Sobell, 940 Broadway, N.Y. 10, tel. AL 4-9983.

Crisis in Brazil

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, such as Ursula Wassermann's story of the situation in Brazil, on page 7, is what makes the paper special. Your friends need the GUARDIAN too. Do them a favor—send them an introductory sub. Just $1 for 13 weeks.

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THE FIGHT GOES ON AGAINST FOREIGN ECONOMIC DOMINATION

'Liberation Front' formed in chaotic Brazil

By **Ursula Wassermann**
Guardian staff correspondent

RIO DE JANEIRO

DURING the last week of October, the Governors of the Brazilian States of Rio Grande do Sul and Goias, Lionel Brizzola and Mauro Borges, decided on the creation of the National Front of Liberation.

The Charter of Goias, read aloud to 50,000 persons at the ceremony, calls for the economic emancipation of Brazil and demands elimination of "scandalous contrasts" which persist between rich and poor, between the **villas miserias** of the impoverished north and the prosperity of the industrial south. "Democracy," the charter says, "cannot exist on the basis of granting millions of Brazilians the inalienable right to die of hunger."

The charter further demands the freezing of deposits in foreign banks, limitation of transfer of profits to foreign countries and the nationalization of illegally acquired wealth. Joao Goulart, who finally managed to succeed Janio Quadros largely on the basis of support from Brizzola, who is his brother-in-law, and from Borges, asked the two to postpone launching the movement, while right-wing leaders already have called for a new army coup "to avoid chaos." Thus the crisis of Brazil continues—a crisis which neither began nor ended with Quadros' resignation.

VARGAS TESTAMENT: The crisis began when Getulio Vargas, political leader of a nascent middle class, first came to power in 1930. In a symbolic act in 1935, Vargas abolished the separate flags of the various states, thus creating the illusion if not the reality of national unity. When the same forces which forced Quadros to resign forced Vargas into suicide in August, 1954, Vargas denounced, in a posthumously published message, "the foreign economic and financial groups which continue to dominate and exploit Brazil."

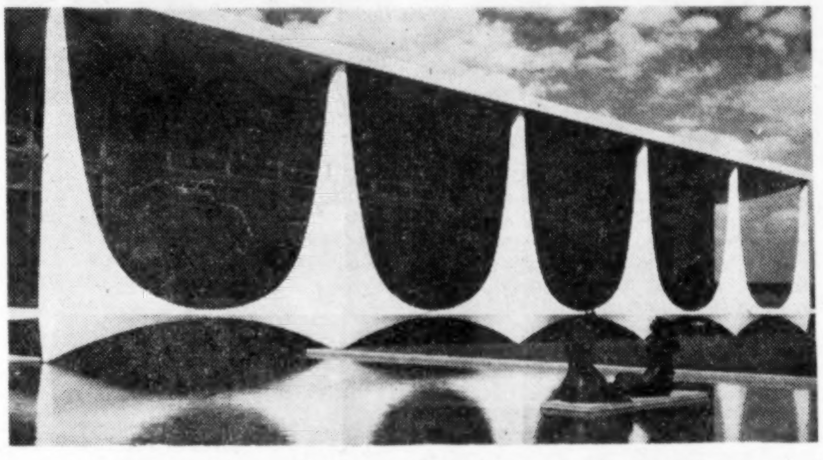
In his statement Vargas further charged a "subversive campaign" by international interests and "certain national forces" against "this administration, which guarantees the workers certain basic rights. Congress rejected the law limiting excess profits on the part of foreign utilities. This same Congress continues to fight against minimum salaries . . . They don't want the people to be either free or independent."

When Vargas died, the situation was grave. The magnitude of the economic crisis is best expressed in his own words: "I came to power when spiral inflation destroyed the very value of a man's work. Foreign utilities netted profits up to 500%. Custom declarations for foreign merchandise which we were obliged to import were falsified in excess of $100 million annually. When we tried to defend the price of our principal export product — coffee — we met such violent pressure that we were finally forced to retreat."

SERIOUS SITUATION: Vargas' work was continued by Juscelino Kubitschek. In the attempt to create national unity, Brasilia was built as the national capital in the interior of this vast country, and a network of roads and railways was constructed to unite the far-flung regions. Brazil's 68 million inhabitants constitute a vast force of potential producers and consumers, while the land itself holds unlimited mineral wealth.

When Quadros came to power, he was faced with a difficult situation. Inflation was rampant; the foreign debt was on the increase; the cost of living was rising; there was a grave drop in the price of coffee, and there was corruption, chaos, bureaucracy.

These conditions had served as ammunition during his election campaign and had brought him more than 5½ million votes, a record in Brazil. A magnificent orator, Quadros, as an independent, was not committed to any political party and refrained from making promises. The opposition had labeled him an "agent of imperialism," and as "the candidate of Esso." The U.S. State Department was said to approve of his candidacy. The coffee barons and the big finance houses had endorsed him. His support for Cuba, in his speeches in the impoverished northeast, was taken as demagogy to capitalize on the pro-Castro sentiment. Everything seemed upside down. The forces which had make Vargas put a bullet through his heart helped Quadros come to power.



BRAZILIAN CONTRAST: TWO SCENES TELL THE STORY
Brasilia's Palace of Dawn (above) and her shantytown (below).

SAME COURSE: However, history was to repeat itself. On Aug. 24, 1954, Vargas wrote his suicide note: "Month after month, day after day, hour after hour, I have resisted constantly growing attacks, suffering in silence, forgetting my own self in order to defend the nation which today will be abandoned . . . I have offered them my life. Today I offer them my death. There is nothing else left."

Seven years to the day, Quadros said: "I have been defeated by the forces of reaction. In these seven months I have done nothing but my duty. I have worked day and night, without prejudice and without resentment. But I lack the capacity to lead this nation toward the road of true political and economic freedom . . . I have been met in this struggle with corruption, lies and cowardice, met by forces which always subordinate the interests of the nation to the appetite and ambitions of certain groups and individuals, both here and abroad." And he added, "The only thing I do not lack is the courage to quit."

Quadros' policy was as extraordinary as his country is a land of contrasts. At home, he played the game of the International Monetary Fund, devalued the cruzeiro, put down strikes and sent left-wing leaders to jail. But the military and the U.S. State Department were worried about another matter: Quadros believed in the self-determination of peoples. In a confidential document, issued by the U.S. delegation to the conference at Punta del Este, Uruguay, Brazil was described as one of the main obstacles against intervention in Cuba. Financial aid was offered to Quadros, but the maneuver did not succeed. He had already sent commercial missions both to Havana and the Communist countries. Agreements had been reached to the extent of more than $1 billion over the coming five years; the Soviet Union was to have increased its credit to $80 million, which would have enabled Brazil to purchase capital goods without immediate outlay of foreign currency, of which she was desperately short. The U.S.S.R. and Brazil were on the point of re-establishing diplomatic relations, and at the same time Goulart was heading a Brazilian mission to Peking.

DIPLOMATIC CLASH: There occurred at this time several incidents during which Quadros threatened to expel North American news correspondents for "distortion of news." There was also the incident with the U.S. Ambassador, John Moors Cabot (of the Cabots of the United Fruit Company—not a popular name in Latin America), who told a Brazilian journalist that "Brazil had undertaken various commitments toward the United States and other American nations and that he was certain that Brazil would not forget her obligations." Quadros reacted strongly: "This government will not tolerate criticism on the part of foreign diplomats." The ambassador's remarks had been made apropos of Brazil's projected participation in the Belgrade Conference in September.

At this point the sinister figure of Carlos Lacerda reappears. Lacerda, governor of the State of Guanabara, of which Rio de Janiero is capital, controls a chain of newspapers and radio and television networks. His violent campaign against Quadros was one of the principal causes of the crisis—just as seven years earlier his defamation of Vargas had helped to drive Vargas to suicide. K. S. Karol, **New Statesman** correspondent, in a recent article, writes that "in Latin America, any child knows that the press is under orders of the financial powers-that-be and that one must always believe the opposite of what it says." The people were against Lacerda, and the crowd shouted during those late August days, "Janio si, Lacerda no," but it was Quadros who went. Lacerda, whom Brizzola had denounced as being the mouthpiece of "international trusts under the leadership of the U.S.," could count on the support of the military.

All Latin American countries maintain armies as costly as they are useless. Brazil, with a foreign debt of $3 billion, spends 46% of its budget on defense. Her army boasts 3,500 generals and seven field marshals. The army is naturally anti-Cuba, since the first thing Castro did on assuming power was to do away with the military leadership altogether. Quadros, for reasons of economy as much as principle, reduced the armed forces' budget and announced that there would be no new field marshals in Brazil. Thus the military, tied to the oligarchy and the financial vested interests, responded with enthusiasm to Lacerda's "anti-communist" appeal.

COLD WAR VICTIM: The resignation of Quadros and the suicide of Vargas may testify to nothing more than to the impotence of the Brazilian bourgeoisie to realize its own form of national capitalism. But if the middle class is not prepared to carry through the difficult task of national unity, other forces—the landless peasant, the industrial worker—will surely take over. The turbulent northeast of Brazil is only one step behind Cuba.

Brazil is the leading power in Latin America. Quadros was following, if somewhat timidly, a policy of foreign nonalignment. "Quadros," writes Carlos Quijano in the Uruguay political weekly, **March**, "Catholic, conservative and confused, was marked down as a 'communist' . . . Thus in perspective, Quadros is the first victim of major importance of the cold war which has now come to Latin America. Confusing democracy with free enterprise, will the bureaucrats of the Pentagon and the State Department never distinguish between nationalism and communism? Do these same bureaucrats not understand that Latin America is not communist, and won't be unless they drive her to despair and utter frustration, suppress her entirely and humiliate her to the point of no return? . . . Brazil is not Cuba, but all of Latin America . . . Civil war in Brazil might well mean civil war for all of America, a continental Sierra Maestra . . . "

Goulart succeeded Quadros thanks to the support of Brizzola and Borges, but on the sufferance of the miiltary and with the tacit understanding that he would not interfere with the Lacerda faction and its allies, at home or abroad. Two months after Quadros resigned, Brizzola and Borges must have realized that Goulart, too, could no longer be counted upon. They have responded with the creation of the National Front of Liberation. Only a battle has been lost in the "continental Sierra Maestra." The war continues for the freedom of Brazil and all of Latin America.

L.A. committee to hold annual dinner Nov. 18

THE 11TH ANNUAL testimonial dinner, honoring the panel of attorneys and public officers of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, will be held on Saturday, Nov. 18, at 6:30 p.m., at the Park Manor Ballroom, 607 Southwestern Ave., Los Angeles. Attorney Joseph Forer will speak. Rev. Stephen Fritchman will preside.

For reservations, write or call the Los Angeles Committee, 326 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 13, MAdison 5-2169 and 5-2160.

The Soviet Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

the "withering away of the state" within the context of a world of remaining capitalisms. His report to the Congress put it this way, as later summarized: Once the Soviet Union will have become the first industrial power, once the socialist system will have fully become the decisive factor in world development, and once the peace forces the world over will have grown still greater, the scales will tilt once and for all in favor of the forces of peace, and the barometer of international weather will indicate "clear." The menace of war will be gone, never to return.

To "glorify the 20th Century" by the construction of a communist society, then, the Soviet government must not only carry out a gigantic 20-year program of economic progress, involving a fivefold increase in the gross national product—a program spelled out in the main report to the Congress (see W. G. Burchett, GUARDIAN, Oct. 23)—but it must create the conditions for the gradual elimination of the over-all power apparatus of the state.

NEW STATUTES: The Soviet leadership paved the way for the unfolding of this latter process by drawing up new party statutes, adopted as a new party charter at the close of the Congress, democratizing the entire control apparatus and aimed at ending the "dictatorship" feature of socialism by completing the destruction of the idolatry of the state developed by Stalin and still espoused by some of his followers; and by pressing home the doctrine of peaceful coexistence, chiefly by way of an attack on Albania and the "Stalinists," believers in a "hard" foreign policy line.

In the theory of Marxism the "withering away of the state" comes about naturally: in the conditions of classless, noncompetitive communism, the function of coercion disappears. But the process is also essential; as the need for authority recedes and the educational and cultural level of the population rises, the people demand an end of coercive authority. This is what took place in the Soviet Union, and Stalin had responded to it by tightening, rather than loosening controls, setting in motion a trend of repression. It was this trend that the 20th Congress in 1956 exposed, condemned and reversed.

Today there is even more urgent necessity for liberalizing and decentralizing political and social forms. To achieve the 20-year program for abundance, the full intellectual and creative energies of the Soviet people will be needed, and this means greater freedom for Soviet minds, a freedom that the population itself is demanding.

'STALINISTS' TARGET: To root out vestiges of the "dictatorship" of the proletariat, the Soviet leaders, one by one, took the rostrum at the two-week Congress to denounce "Stalinism" and "the cult of personality." There were new accusations of persecution—of executions, suicides and mass jailings—in the periods of extreme Stalinist repression before and after the war. The top surviving "Stalinists," Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich, "with the stroke of a pen sealed the fate of many men," it was charged.

THE MOSCOW QUEUE IS FOR LENIN ALONE
Stalin's body no longer is in the mausoleum in Red Square.

The assault culminated with the removal of Stalin's body from the Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square.

Khrushchev went out of his way to nip in the bud any tendency to build a cult of personality around him. "Allow me to state emphatically," he declared, "that everything said about me should be directed to the Central Committee . . . to the Presidium . . . because not a single major measure nor a single responsible speech was undertaken on someone's personal instructions . . . It would be wrong to single out any leader, to set him apart in any way from the leading collective, to indulge in excessive praise of him."

ALBANIA DEFENDED: This emphasis at the Congress produced friction within the socialist camp. One member of the bloc, Albania, which has been at odds for some time with Moscow, was roundly castigated by name. The Albanian Communists, under "Stalinist" Gen. Enver Hoxha, take a dim view of peaceful coexistence with Yugoslavia, which Stalin had drummed out of the corps, and, by extension, with the West in general. The only socialist-bloc state not contiguous with any other, Albania was drummed out itself by its European associates at the Congress.

But the Far Eastern members—China, North Vietnam and North Korea—came to Albania's defense and showed an equal displeasure at the attacks on Stalin (Chinese Premier Chou En-lai laid wreaths to both Lenin and Stalin at the mausoleum shortly after the Congress began.) The East-West conflict within the Communist world was more visible at the Congress than ever before. Although its precise nature is still not clear, its source may be assumed to lie in the different conditions obtaining in Western and Eastern socialism, both internally and externally.

China, Vietnam and Korea, like the U.S.S.R., have had to industrialize and collectivize virtually from scratch, and are now in a stage roughly comparable to that of the Soviet Union from 1928 to 1934, when Stalin carried through the basic Soviet economic development with ruthless authoritarian control. The Far East states feel the need for similar methods, and it is the Stalin of that period (and of wartime) that they remember and respect. Moreover, they will require these harsh methods for some time to come; for these members of the camp—and for Albania—Khruchchev's call for an end to dictatorship seems decidedly premature.

OWN PROBLEMS: Similarly, the coexistence foreign policy is not entirely adaptable to the present problems of these states in foreign affairs. China does not intend to coexist with the Chiang Kai-shek regime on Taiwan (nor with the American policy of perpetuating it), and both North Vietnam and North Korea are the products of imposed geographical divisions that have no long-term viability.

In respect to "Stalinism" and peaceful coexistence, the Eastern states seem to be entering individual reservations on over-all doctrine. But Chou made it clear to the Congress that China endorsed the main direction and doctrine established for the U.S.S.R. by the Soviet party.

Chou called the 20-year economic program a "magnificent plan of communist construction," pledged "the unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement," and said the Chinese people supported "the Soviet government in foreign policy directed at lessening international tension, obtaining universal disarmament and strengthening the principles of peaceful coexistence, as well as steps undertaken recently to strengthen defense." From Peking while the Congress was meeting, J. Alvarez del Vayo reported in the York, Pa., **Gazette and Daily** that any assumption that the Chinese did not fully accept the policy of peaceful coexistence was incorrect.

FINAL RESOLUTION: The Congress ended Oct. 31 with the re-election of Khrushchev as the party's general secretary and by the infusion of "fresh young blood" in the top party councils, as called for in the new statutes. Four members of the Central Committee were replaced by men who had risen recently from regional posts. The aims and results of the Congress were summed up in the final resolution. It said:

"It is not imperialism but socialism that determines today the principal direction of world development . . . The question of war and peace was and remains the most burning issue of our time." It declared: "The Congress considers timely, correct and necessary" the measures taken in strengthening Soviet defenses. This was an implied reference to the explosion of an over-50-megaton bomb during the session. It went on: "We must be on our guard, keep the powder dry, perfect the defenses of the socialist countries and their armed forces."

But the resolution expressed firm belief in the triumph of disarmament and peace: "The present generation of Soviet people," it concluded, "will live under communism."

Southern censors fight TV integration programs

AN ORGANIZATION called Monitor South in Bossier City, La., is campaigning to keep programs on race relations off Southern television. All Southern ABC-TV affiliates received a letter questioning the advisability of showing 'Walk in My Shoes," a one-hour program in which Negroes discussed discrimination. Grounds were that the show might be advancing the "racial unrest program" of the Communist Party.

Monitor South's executive director, Ned Touchstone, suggested that stations either not screen the program or prepare to offer equal time "to rebut any false propaganda which serves the Communist racial ideology."

According to **Variety**, Sept. 27, a total of 33 Southern stations screened the program.

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BOOKS

The voices of the slum

FOR CERTAIN American sociologists who have grafted their field onto the science of public relations, the kids of poor parents, only lately referred to as "culturally deprived," have now become "children whose experiences, generally speaking, have been limited to their immediate environment." And one can no longer even refer to that environment as a low socio-economic area, in the fashion of the old naive jargon, for fear of destroying the neighborhood parents' faith in the "upward mobility" of their offspring.

Oscar Lewis, author of **The Children of Sanchez,*** is not so refined. Like Gertrude Stein, he knows that a slum is a slum is a slum, and that all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten the lives of its tenants. Two years ago, in a chapter of a book called **Five Families,** he had related an average day's doings of a group of Jesus Sanchez' dependents on the dusty outskirts of Mexico City. He has now recorded, in their own words, with only minor editing, the stories of four of Jesus' grown children, who have spent most of their lives within half an hour of the shrine of the Virgin of Guadelupe and three minutes from the Thieves' Market. Manuel, age 32; Roberto, 29; Consuelo, 27, and Marta, 25, wander in and out of the Casa Grande and Panaderos **vecindades** (one-story tenements), tearing themselves away or returning as suppliants to that harsh, fixed star: their father.

What each of these does to the others or suffers at their hands, whether he sells watches and cloth remnants or works as a wetback, lands in the army or in jail, is related to a jumble of inner and outer causes; it is Lewis' virtue that, like a dramatist, he leaves it to us to decide, in each case, the relative responsibility of the individual and the social order. We see how cause mingles with effect and effect becomes cause, how illusion and the reality from which it takes off combine to ruin the hopes built upon them. In the end we may find that Lewis has enabled us to accept his open offer to pass some kind of judgment on the murderous system which forces the "opportunity" to fight for one's life on the defenseless third or half-and-more of every "free world" nation.

ALTHOUGH WE do not know what questions Lewis asked, it is obvious that in method and spirit he went far beyond the requirements of the standard interview. He did not regard the Sanchez family members as cases but as friends, and they thought of him as one. Such closeness is more easily imagined than achieved, particularly when the tape recorder is a constant witness to all exchanges. Above all, it is imperative that the reporter guard against the feeling of superiority which simple material advantage so often inspires in investigators, advisers, angels and ministers, and all others who are wiser, if not holier, than those without money.

The youngest social worker fresh out of school might instruct Jesus how to be a better father to his love-starved children. Could anyone have taught him how to support three households comprising 21 people in all on a wage of a dollar a day as a restaurant food buyer (a job he has held over 30 years, hardly missing a day), plus what he can make from peddling lottery tickets and raising pigs, chickens, and song birds? Sooner show Atlas how to carry the earth.

Contrasted to Jesus, his children are broken stems. What would Manuel and Roberto have done if they had inherited their father's tenacity instead of craving his love? Would Consuelo have been more tender if she were not consumed with hatred of male tyranny, or Marta more imaginative if she had not so easily accepted a world in which that tyranny was taken for granted? It is like asking: What would Mexico be like if Zapata had beaten Carranza? What we **do** know is that the revolution, which began in 1910, the year of Jesus' birth in a village in Vera Cruz, was betrayed, and that his children are fruits of that undoing.

EXISTENCE in the Casa Grande is rarely gay; in the poorer Panaderos courtyard it approaches the macabre at times. The inhabitants are like climbers on a vertical glass wall. Wage earners often make less than they would panhandling, certainly less than pickpockets. Even then they may be cheated by the boss. The police are hyenas on their flanks. The word justice makes the heart grow numb. The women are defenseless, used when desired, left like cats when they become a problem. As I go over their stories, I keep thinking of a girl's remark in an early Soviet play, Pogodin's **Aristocrats**: "If I could dream my life, I'd wake up in a cold sweat."

How, then, do we know that though these people are tormented they have not been crushed? The proof is in the power of their speech to shake us. Consuelo, for example, is, in a way, the least sympathetic of Jesus' children, the one most readily "insulted and injured" to the point of spitefulness. Yet, whenever her thwarted sensibiilty is set free even for an hour from preoccupation, hear what it can do. Consuelo is describing her brother, Manuel: "He reminded me of a person walking backwards in darkness, without setting foot upon solid ground. He walked and walked and got nowhere. He just moved his legs to give people the impression he was doing something. His gaze was fixed upon little stars shining in the firmament. He tried to catch them and when he managed to get one, he would sit down there in the infinite emptiness and play with it until the dazzling light lost its power. Then he would leave the dead star floating in the air, and go irresistibly after another.

"He never looked to either side or downward, because if he did, he would see the dark abyss beneath him. He was in dread of falling; if he ever reached the ground, he would feel how rugged and hard is the road where people walk. So he looked upward to the heavens, not to implore, but to make loud excuses when he fell. 'I didn't see . . . I didn't know.'"

The temptation is very great to quote Manuel's estimate of Consuelo and of himself, Consuelo's of Roberto, Marta's of herself, etc., and finally Jesus' surprising opinion of sacred cows: ". . . . I know in other countries, if they don't like a president, they toss a nice little bomb and you have a different president . . . a bit of cyanide, a heart attack, yes, there's what many of our presidents and governors and police chiefs need."

There are thinkers who will tell you that such eloquence, or verve, because it shows how the human spirit always survives, thereby guarantees man's freedom, no matter how awful his deprivation. Nothing could be falser. The eloquence of the oppressed is a tragic possession, pointing to an intolerable disparity between what they might be and what they are. The only consolation to be drawn from it is the knowledge that the intolerable has its moment of truth, and that those who can only speak now will act then. Or, as Oscar Lewis puts it a little circumspectly: ". . . . even the Mexican capacity for suffering has its limits, and unless ways are found to achieve a more equitable distribution of the growing national wealth and a greater equality of sacrifice during the difficult period of industrialization, we may expect social upheavals, sooner or later."

—Charles Humboldt

THE CHILDREN OF SANCHEZ: Autobiography of a Mexican Family, by Oscar Lewis. Random House, 490 pp. $7.50.

ARTISTS PROTEST SIQUEIROS IMPRISONMENT

Jack Levine, Robert Gwathmey, Maurice Becker and Hugo Gellert (r. to l.) presenting a petition signed by prominent American artists on behalf of David Alfaro Siqueiros at the Mexican Consulate in New York. Receiving the protest are Senorita Matilda Fainsgein, receptionist, and Senor Juan Costello, superintendent of the consulate. On Nov. 7, Robert Gwathmey left for Mexico City with attorney Stanley Faulkner and philosopher Corliss Lamont, to intercede with the Mexican government for Siqueiros.

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General Walker

(Continued from Page 1)

of their weapons. They must learn to kill and destroy, to live and protect . . . We are at war. We are infiltrated. We are losing that war every day. Are our hands tied, yours and mine? We need a substitute for defeat. If it is not within the power of this Congress to provide it—then the people of these United States are not truly represented."

Walker attacks the "executive power" of the government for "encroachment" upon the military and the Congress: "The encroachment upon the responsibility of the legislative branch to regulate the military conduct is the very encroachment now turned upon me. In defeat, I am in good company."

His fire still seems directed at the executive power when he writes: "Failure to know the enemy, failure to understand him on all his fronts, failure to prepare completely to battle him to the ultimate in the defense of the United States, only gives him aid and comfort described in our Constitution as treason.

"There can be no co-existence on the battlefield . . . Our objective is not peace, but freedom . . . Talk about co-existence is a concession to the timid and the gullible."

Quoting J. Edgar Hoover with admiration, he asks: "Worse still, is his voice, like all others, to be muted by political dilettantes with their fingers to their lips?"

GEN. EDWIN A. WALKER
A "dedicated" civilian?

CONSTANT THEME: A recurring theme is "the necessity for engaging the enemy with purpose—the purpose of destroying the enemy."

He writes that in Korea he "saw stalemate become a substitute for victory" and blames the outcome on "the censorship of victory on the field of battle." The defeat of Chiang Kai-shek's forces in China he blames on the "censorship of action."

To Gen. Walker the cold war is real: "It is warfare, not a series of public relations campaigns . . . Foreign aid, cultural exchanges and technical assistance may be activities related to political warfare but they do not, of themselves, depreciate the power of an ideological enemy."

Then he gets to the core of the ultra-right creed: "We have yet to agree among ourselves, and with our Allies, to reach a simple definition—communism is the enemy. We employ its agents in the teaching professions, allowing them to work on the fertile minds of youth . . . They infest our entertainment media. They long ago have infiltrated our government so that a scheme of subversion can be traced through three decades.

"Even our free press is exploited by communist propagandists. Communist collaborators find rabid and militant defense among certain groups of our citizens, some of whom are sincerely confused and misguided. Governments which oppose the leaders of these groups and their purposes often are branded reactionary. In other nations in our hemisphere, we have seen these groups seize absolute power. In Cuba, it was with our help.

"Nations that have fundamentally anti-communist governments too often feel our wrath, directed by those who somehow have managed to rise to such positions in our government as to be able to claim the right to speak for us. I say this with sorrow, but I say it with conviction . . . To discourage those among us who would alert us by informing us, the enemy and those who do his bidding have gone to astounding lengths, but always at the risk of exposing themselves by going too far . . ."

N.Y. rally to abolish HUAC at Manhattan Center Dec. 6

PLAYWRIGHT Gore Vidal (**The Best Man**) and screenwriter Ring Lardner Jr. will be among the speakers Wednesday evening, Dec. 6 at Manhattan Center, New York City, at a rally to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Lardner, one of the Hollywood Ten who served a prison term for refusing to cooperate with HUAC, is the author of "My Years On The Blacklist" recently published in the **Saturday Evening Post.**

The rally will be held under the auspices of the New York Council and Youth to Abolish HUAC. Other speakers will be Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala., integration leader; Mrs. Frank Wilkinson, Los Angeles, wife of the abolition leader now in jail; Ernest Mazey, Detroit trade union official; Prof. Fowler Harper, Yale University Law School; and James Higgins, managing editor, York, Pa., **Gazette and Daily.**

Dr. Otto Nathan, chairman of the New York Council, has announced that Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn of Berkeley, Calif., has accepted the honorary chairmanship of the New York Council.

NEW YORK

RALLY FOR PEACE & FRIENDSHIP
SUN. EVE. NOV. 12 7:30 P.M.
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Gen. Hugh B. Hester Dr. Jerome Davis
Miss Natalie Derujinsky (Concert Pianist)
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ROCKWELL KENT, Chairman

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Establishment of Diplomatic Relations
Between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. (1933)

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Report on
AFRICA
Sun., Nov. 26, 7:30 p.m.
Jewish Music Center
14864 Schaefer Highway

Wed., Nov. 29, 7:30 p.m.
Hartford Baptist Church
Community Center
6300 Hartford Ave.

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18 5.P.M.
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Russian Arts Club 2952 North Av.
No. 10-12: **CHUK & GEK & SURPRISE FILM.**
Nov. 17-19: **MY APPRENTICESHIP** (rest of Gorky autobiography, Dec. 1-3).

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Is there a consistent pattern to U.S. history? What are prospects of the labor movement? Can our colored citizens win equality under capitalism? Will this country escape the world revolution of our time?

Sat., Nov. 18, 8 p.m., at International House (Assembly Hall), 1414 E. 59 St. Cont. $1; students 25c. Ausp: Univ. of Chicago Chapt., Young Socialist Alliance.

"From San Francisco to Moscow . . . The Outlook for World Peace."

First-hand report on Walk for Peace by America's foremost pacifist, **A. J. MUSTE.** Fri., Nov. 17, 8 p.m., Altgeld Hall, 430 S. Michigan (2nd fl.) Adm: 90c; students, 50c. Ausp: American Forum, Rev. Alva Tompkins, Chmn.

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WILLIAM F. WARDE, noted Marxist author and lecturer speaks on
"Where Is America Going?"
Fri., Nov. 17, 8 p.m., Friday Socialist Forum, 3737 Woodward Debs Hall.

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THURS., NOV. 16, 7:30 p.m.—La Vivienda, Assemblea General, The Invasion of April 17 (documentary) Newsreel: Cuba today—events in Cuba up to May, 1961. — **9:00 P.M.:** Life of Jose Marti, Carta Dorticos, Cooperative Agricola, Chin-Chin, Newsreel: Cuba Today. **FRI., NOV. 17,** 7:30 P.M. Repeat of first Thurs. showing. 9:00 P.M. — **SPECIAL ALL-SPANISH PROGRAM:** Assemblea General, Muerte al Invasor (Apr. 17), La Vida de Jose Marti, Gagarin en Cuba—primer 26 de Julio. 150 Golden Gate Av. Cont. $1, students 50c. Auspices: FPCC.

"WHAT I SAW IN CUBA"

DR. A. J. LEWIS — Lecturer, foreign correspondent for L.A. HERALD DISPATCH, returned from Cuba Sept., 1961. NEW COLOR SLIDES.

MIKE TIGAR—Student Leader: "Documenting the New Invasion Plan."

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SAT., NOV. 18, 8 p.m., 150 Golden Gate Ave. Cont. $1., students 50c. Ausp: Bay Area Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Box 2615, San Francisco 26, Calif.

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NEW YORK

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Liberation Committee for Africa representattive **DANIEL H. WATTS** speaks on "The Struggle of African People for Freedom from Colonialism" Fri., Nov. 17, 8:30 p.m., at 5013—10 Av., Brooklyn (BMT West End to 50 St. Station). Adm. free. Ausp: Boro Park Fraternal Society.

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speaks Fri., Nov. 17, 8:30 p.m., at 3230 Bainbridge Av., Bronx. Topic: "The Struggle for World Power." — Ausp: Bainbridge Cultural Club.

PARTY—Sat., Nov. 18, 9:30 until?
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CUBA IN FREEDOM
an eyewitness report

Speakers: **JAMES O'CONNOR,** economist at Barnard College (Col. Univ.), just returned after another tour of Cuba.

Fri., Nov. 10—8:30 p.m.
116 University Place Cont. $1.
Ausp: Militant Labor Forum

The 22nd CPSU Congress

An analysis by **MURRY WEISS,** editor International Socialist Review. Fri., Nov. 17, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

SATURDAY FORUM:
Topic: The Rising Tide of Color
Speaker: Mr. J. A. Rogers, author of World's Great Men of Color, etc.
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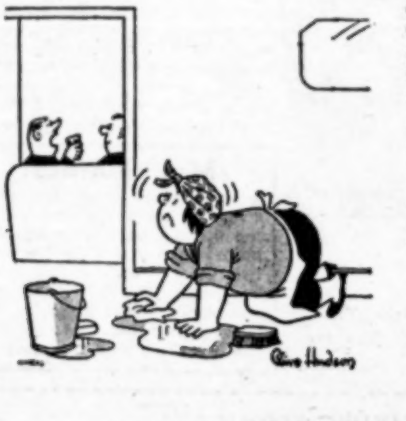
THE GALLERY

MUSICIAN CHARLES A. McCLAIN took the Metropolitan Opera Assn. to court when it tried to evict him from a studio in the opera house to make room for costume storage. He said it was all a plot by "card-carrying communists" in the Met. He must have meant spear-carrying . . . . School 14 in Jersey City, which was built in 1953, has developed cracks in its walls. An architect testified that it was because expansion joints were not placed in the original construction. But Joseph Toscano, who was on the school board at the time the building was constructed, argued that it was due to earth tremors from the Russian nuclear tests . . . A help wanted ad in the New York **Times** of Oct. 29 read: "Bomb Shelter Salesman—intelligent, aggressive for a complete new fabulous industry. Excellent future . . . ." Harry Golden reported in his **Carolina Israelite,** "Mississippi has entered the nuclear age. A well-to-do citizen is building two elaborate fallout shelters—one for his family and one for his Negro sleep-in servants." . . . During a debate on civil defense at a London County Council meeting, Mrs. Anne Kerr said that a Putney doctor has suicide pills prepared for his family in case of a nuclear attack. Mrs. Kerr suggested that "the only honest thing the government can do" is to issue pills to the population in the event of an attack . . . . A film made by Italian producers in Yugoslavia supporting conscientious objection to war has been banned by the official censor in Italy. When the film, called **Non Uccidere (Thou Shalt Not Kill)** was scheduled for a private showing in Rome, police barred the door. Actresses Anna Magnani and Gina Lollobrigida sat on the pavement in protest.

SHELTERS FOR LIVING, INC., sub-leased space in its model fallout shelter in Grand Central Station to Castro Convertibles, H. J. Heinz & Co., B. F. Goodrich Co. and Lily-Tulip Cup Corp. . . . The board of Princess Christian Home for Indigent Old Ladies in Capetown, South Africa, said it is considering changing the home's name because some people misread it as the home for "indecent old ladies." . . . A New York appliance store has this sign in its window: "We undersell the store that undersells the store that will not be undersold." . . . Typographical errors that are best left uncorrected: The Columbia U. **Owl** ran a bookshop ad for **Tropic of Cancer,** "wow in paperback." . . . Madison Avenue overruled the medics in the new **Dr. Kildare** TV series. A bright boy ordered the "No Smoking" signs removed from the hospital corridors because a cigarette company sponsors the show.



Hudson in the U.E. Canadian News

"I may be old-fashioned, Fred, but I don't believe in a wife working."

—Robert E. Light

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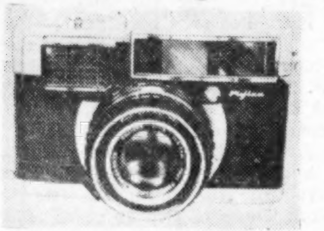

Japanese Cameras

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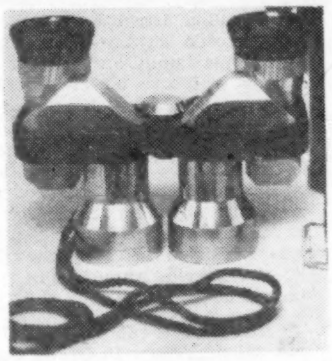

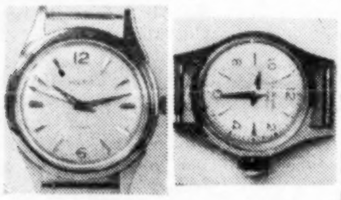

(Left)—Poljot men's automatic, 22 jewels, **$34.50;** *(Right) — Women's Slava, 17 jewels,* **$24.95.** *Both come without straps.*

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Far and away the best-selling items in our store are our Soviet watches, particularly the superb men's automatic, far left. Experts tell us these timepieces are equal or superior to watches selling at $100. Waterproof, shockproof, anti - magnetic, they're also trouble-free. A fine gift.

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To keep up with events you need a map of modern Africa, showing the sixteen new nations admitted to the U.N. in the past two years. Here's a full color, laminated 50"x33" up-to-date Hammond map, suitable for hanging or framing. Mailed in a sturdy mailing tube. ....**Just $3**

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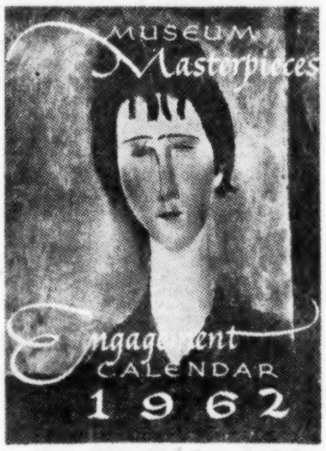


Our Handsome 1962 Engagement Calendar

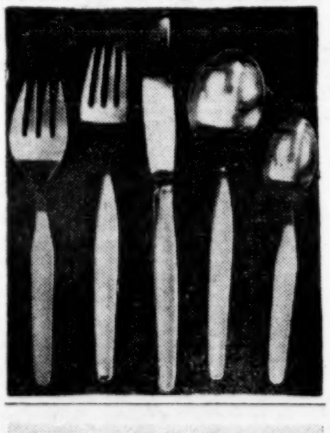
HERE'S a thoughtful little gift—our popular engagement calendar of museum masterpieces. 24 pages—two pages for each month —each page facing a handsome four-color reproduction of a great art work. Utrillo, Modigliani, Van Gogh, Matisse, Renoir, Dufy are all in here, with plenty of space to note your daily engagements. 5¾"x 8", with a glossy, chrome-coat cover that resists soil or fingerprints. Buy them to give to friends. **$1 each**
Six for $5

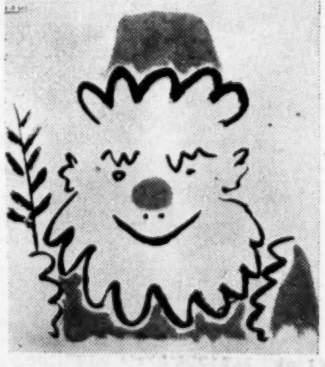
POLISH SISTER DOLLS — 17" and 13" high, sold as set only. **just $3**

STAINLESS Steel Flatware

SMART MODERN DESIGN—One of the finest sets of flatware GBS has ever handled—a 42-piece set, service for eight, of "18/8" stainless steel from Holland. Five-piece serving (knife, fork, teaspoon, salad fork and soup spoon), plus sugar shell and butter knife, beautifully mounted in a permanent, wood, velvet-lined chest. "18/8" is the highest grade steel, with 18% chromium and 8% nickel. **$29.95.**

53-PIECE SET—All the above, plus eight extra teaspoons and cake server, ladle and serving spoon **$36.95**





the SPECTATOR

Spectacular specter

THE CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNISM CRUSADE came to New York Nov. 2 in the form of a repeat showing of the three-hour TV spectacular, "Hollywood's Answer to Communism," which was first presented over 33 West Coast stations (estimated audience: 4,000,000) on Oct. 16. The sponsors on New York's WPIX presentation were Schick Razor and Technicolor Corp., and one viewer's conclusion was that America could cut its throat in color simply by subscribing to the aims of the crusade.

Let the sideline sages talk or the crackpots and the lunatic fringe and the suppressed status drives of frustrated people. There was little of that in the Hollywood Bowl, as 15,000 persons listened, applauded and rose in homage to the Hollywood celebrities, the Senator and Congressman from the nation's capital, the publisher from Madison Avenue, the former FBI man and the evangelist from Australia.

For Rep. Walter C. Judd (R-Minn.) "the Chinese were not Chinese any more." To Sen. Thomas J. Dodd, "communism is total evil —it is all black." The FBI's W. Cleon Skousen, gave the program: investigate the State Dept.; rewrite the UN Charter or get out; outlaw the communist conspiracy; sever ties with the Soviet Union and embargo the Soviet-Chinese bloc to encourage revolt "by the oppressed millions."

SCHWARZ, A SLICK OPERATOR in a bow tie, as director of the Crusade provided the fundamentalist fervor; the accent was homey, the words simple, the distortion disarming. The surroundings were 100 per cent American: Connie Haines, rendering the Star Spangled Banner with a night club beat; 350 Boy Scouts carrying the colors, in their front rank wonderful-looking kids of Chinese, Japanese and Hawaiian origin, whose unseen parents have unspoken trouble finding homes in Christian white American neighborhoods. The joining of the religious faiths was emphasized; the Catholic Dodd, the Protestant Schwarz and the (off-stage) Jew who had "worked so hard to make this affair a success."

The most depressing event of the evening was the appearance of C. D. Jackson, publisher of **Life** magazine and psychological warrior for Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower. He came 3,000 miles to apologize for an "oversimplified misinterpretation" in **Life** which had suggested strongly that Schwarz's evangelical intensity was in no small measure generated by the fact that the Anti-Communism Christian Crusade had become a $500,000-a-year business. "I believe we were wrong and I am profoundly sorry," he said, and the audience rose to cheer the repentant sinner. Later Schwarz corrected **Life**'s figures: it was a $1,000,000 business.

TO A KNOWLEDGEABLE VIEWER the program may have been an irritating task; but to millions of watchers, worried and tense over a world crisis which has been distorted for them by press, radio and TV, the presentation may have had the ring of truth presented with selfless dedication in the sole interest of the triumph of good over evil. Throughout the three hours there were no commercials, but there were little white messages on the screen announcing that the program was being presented as a public service, and giving the New York address of the Crusade. The ghostly quality of the announcements underscored the mystical effectiveness of subliminal motivation.

In the New York **Times** the next morning a troubled TV editor, Jack Gould, wondered about the wisdom of a TV station turning over the subject of the cold war "to sponsors who have the desire and resources to put their viewpoints on the air." He said: "There would also seem to be a necessity on the part of the station to take affirmative steps to assuring that differing opinions will be represented on the publicly owned airwaves."

Would this be to suggest that WPIX give equal time to the UN, the Chinese government, Premier Khrushchev and the Communist Party U.S.A.—let alone Alger Hiss and Dean Acheson—to "challenge" [as Gould put it]) the accuracy of some of last night's contention of a historical nature"? The canyons of Madison Avenue would echo with howls of derision.

THE PEOPLE'S AIRWAYS have become the duchy of rich corporations which say they hired the airways and will sell time only to other corporations which have the cash and the prejudices which suit their fancy. Their fancy is frighteningly reactionary.

In opening the rally, actor George Murphy announced it as the "largest anti-communist rally ever held anywhere in the world." Murphy forgets — if he ever remembered — Nuremberg and the Sportspalast in Berlin; there were far bigger crowds there. But the link for one viewer was made, the morning after the TV broadcast, when he left his home for work and saw swastikas painted on the front of his house and four other buildings on the block.

Coincidence? Perhaps. But the painting was expert, and the time for speculation is short.

—James Aronson

For the last time—

(LEFT) PERE NOEL — Picasso's famous "Father Christmas" on heavy 5"x7" card stock in three colors, with Season's Greetings at the bottom. Eight cards and envelopes 50c
40 Cards (5 boxes)—$2

Still no rose

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

I propose that we solemnly and respectfully refer hereafter to the members of the John Birch Society as the Sons of Birch's.

Ervin Henning